563 [162] They are subdivided into three fractions: Oulad Elias, Oulad Asseroum, and Oulad Fassi, grouping about 120 people.

[233] They possess about 100 camels and 280 to 300 goats. They formerly occupied the small centers of cultivation of Sékaïa and Tagemout, [423 241] which they own, but which they abandoned for lack of water and manpower. Very religious, they are for the most part affiliated with the sect of the Tijaniyyah; four or five of them adhere to Senusism [795 798] /Sanusiyyah sect. Ed./. They have among their number two pilgrims who have made the trip to Mecca, a very rare feat.

[669] In 1904 they were completely raided by Lieutenant Besset and kept out of the revolt of 1916-1918.

The Kel in Rhar'. -- The Kel In Rhar' probably owe their name to the village of In Rhar' in the Tidikelt, where they must have lived before coming to settle in the Tafedest.

/200/ Their oral tradition relates that they were conquered by [173] Sultan Goma and bestowed upon the Kel Rela at the time of the division of the Imrad.

[162] Numbering about 150 persons, they camp on the eastern side of the Tafedest, and also nomadize in the region of Méniet and in the Immidir.

[233] Before World War I they owned nearly 800 camels and 1, 500 sheep and goats. Their camel livestock has now fallen to 200 head. [241 423] They own gardens at Mertoutek, a little center which belongs to them entirely, and at I-n-Amegal, Dehine, and Abézou.

[795] Like the Ihéiaouen Hâda, they are mostly affiliated with the Tijaniyyah sect.

[669] During the revolt of 1916-1918, they refused to rise against us, which caused them to be raided by the Ajjer Tuareg.

[224] They are renowned as very great hunters of wild sheep.

[65] The Kel In Rhar' annually pay the aménokal six bags of dates and a young camel.

The Kel Tafedest. -- The Kel Tafedest or Kel Tégatoufé (or ant [162] people) are a very poor small fraction including some 50 persons, 18 of them women.

563 They nomadize near the Garet ed Djenoun, the Aseksem, Amegid, and the Adrar Torha; they own about 300 goats and 30 [233] camels. (1938 census, as opposed to 600 goats and 200 camels in 1905.)

[241 423] They are the owners of a few gardens in the Tafedest.

[795] They are quite religious and members of the Tijaniyyah order.

[65] The Kel Tafedest annually pay the amenokal four loads of dates and a young camel.

The Kel Immidir. -- The Kel Immidir, or Kel Mouydir, are still called Iheiaouen-n-Tin-Emma. They are of the same origin as the Iheiaouen Hada and the Kel Tazoulé.

[162] They are subdivided into Kel Terahart and Kel Raris and include about 50 people. They nomadize in the Immidir massif toward Joraf and Tagmout and have areas for nomadization between Ifetessen and In Eker.

[233 464] They are poor people who own about 20 camels and 250 goats. Very good merchants and excellent caravaneers, they hire themselves out to camel owners to provide for their needs.

[162] /201/ The Isselamaten must be added to the Kel Immidir. They are a small fraction of about 15 tents which lives with them and nomadize near Aneserfa, Arak, Ahohor, Tagemout, and Tiredjert.

The Kel Tazoulet. -- The Kel Tazoulet or Dag el Mesk camp in [162 233] the Tazoulet region and near Tazerouk. They number about 225 people and own 285 camels and more than 2,000 goats. They dryness [132] of the region which they inhabit forces them to take refuge in the Sudan when there are no rains in the Ahaggar.

[241 423] They possess gardens at Bloumet, Iberbern Touakkine, and at Tazerouk.

[44] They were in contact with the Ait Loaien and followed the latter in revolt, participating with them in the battles of Tit and the Ilaman wadi.

[795 •798] They are quite religious and members of the Tijaniyyah. Four or five of their number have made the pilgrimage to Mecca.

631 It will be noted that there are no marabout tribes in the divers
793 Ahaggar tobol. The Ifôra who nomadize in the Témaçinine (Fort Flatters) region are completely independent. They maintain amicable relations with the Iḥaggaren and the Kel Ăjjer, but these relations are very few and far between and have no political or religious character. They do not send any chaplains among the Iḥaggaren. Their chief has settled at the little zāwiyah of Témaçinine, near which his ancestors are buried, and where he enjoys great /213/
578 repute. All the Tuareg, Iḥaggaren or Ăjjer, who pass near this
788 place never fail to stop and pay a visit to the sheik and go pray on the tomb of Si Othman, a famous saint of this marabout lineage.

This zāwiyah is affiliated with the Tijaniyyah brotherhood.

There are several marabouts who live in the midst of the Iḥaggaren camps, but all of them are of Arab origin and none of them are Ifôras.

631 The Ifôras are under the administrative control of the Ăjjer annex, and politically they are much more a part of the Kel Ăjjer than of the Iḥaggaren.

They are subdivided into three fractions:

Ifôras-oui-n-Oukkîren

Ifôras-oui-n-Egdad

Ifôras-oui-n-Ettebel

The first two, who are of sherif descent, were in the habit of espousing the cause of the Oûraren, while the third was attached to the Imenân sultans.

114 Duveyrier said that the Ifôras-oui-n-Ettebel were provided with
533 drums and continued to constitute the court and the music corps
631 of the fallen sultans; he concludes by saying that their role is limited to making noise. (1) Now the Ifôras-oui-n-Ettebel have never been

1. Les Touareg du Nord, p. 361.

musicians, but their name, which can be confusing, means "those who are attached to the amênokal," just as Iklân-en-Tăousit (of the Ahaggar) means "servant of the tribe or of the group of tribes

The religious lukewarmness of the Tuareg is such that they do not always profess great respect for marabouts and very few of them make the pilgrimage to Mecca. When Duveyrier made his trip to Ghat (1860) there were some thirty pilgrims among the northern Tuareg (1); at the present time there are probably only three men among the Ihăggaren who can be honored with the title of El Hadj.

1. Op. cit., p. 413.

But this tepidity does not always exclude fanaticism. Barth already mentioned that he had to face it during his trip and that he was assailed by questions and had to discuss different religious dogmas with some Tuareg; he extricated himself from this by a perfect knowledge of the Koran and of Moslem mores. /306/ Their religious ignorance makes them, at the same time, easy instruments in the hands of marabouts who have often profited from this to stir up hate for the Christians and to push them into a holy war, as was the case for the revolts of 1915 - 1916 - 1917. In spite of the bitter failures which resulted, their confidence in their thaumaturgy was not at all diminished.

At the present time there are several Koranic schools in the Ahaggar conducted by Arab marabouts and set up in the agricultural centers. They are mainly attended by Harratin children, for Tuareg children, who stay in their parent's camps, cannot go to them because they are too far away. A marabout family, originally from Cheurfa d'Aoulef (Tidikelt) settled in the Ahaggar some forty years ago and enjoys a great veneration. Not long ago it was fixed in the little center of Dar-Mouli, where it enhanced the value of the place, but as a result of the dryness of the spot it was moved to Esselissekine. There each year a great alms feast takes place, and all the Ahaggar Tuareg come. Its present chief, Moulay el Ouafi ben Moulay abd Allah is an example of piety, although still quite young, and he is surrounded by great respect.

In speaking of the Islamization of the Tuareg, Henri Basset said that the latter had taken almost nothing from Islam, except

4: Benhazera--1 G-5 (1905) 1908 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar

Book One

# The Tuareg in their Private and Public Life

## Part One

## The Tuareg in their Private Life

### Chapter I

### Birth. Childhood

In Tamashek, birth is called "tiouit" ⵜⵉⵡⵉⵜ. There is no special observance to note concerning the birth of a child among the Tuareg. However, there is greater joy if it is a boy. People come to congratulate the parents and, seven days later, the latter serve a more or less lavish feast, depending on their means, the feast being preceded by the recitation of the "fatiha" (first sura of the Koran). Those present who do not know Arabic limit themselves during this recitation to holding their open hands together like a book. It is on this day that the child is given its name.

On this subject, I think I should note that especially among the Kel R'ela (a noble tribe of the Ahaggar), many children were given the names of wild beasts or animals.

Examples of Men's Names

Amellal, addax, meha /?/
Abeggui, jackal
Amayas, cheetah
Akhou, wild animal

## Chapter XI

## Death. Burial. Graves

If death ("tamettant" ⵜⴰⵎⴻⵜⵜⴰⵏⵜ ) takes place near an 764
"ar'erem" (village), burial is carried out at the cemetery. Otherwise, the deceased is buried where he died.

The corpse is washed with warm water, according to Moslem custom, and dressed in his shroud "tifit" ⵜⵉⴼⵉⵜ . Tolbas come to say the prayers of the dead. The grave "az'-ekka" ⴰⵣⵄⴻⴽⴽⴰ , plural "iz'ekouan" ⵉⵣⵄⴻⴽⵓⴰⵏ , is dug. The pit /23/ is one span and four fingers wide for, as among all Moslems, the corpse is laid on the right side, the face turned toward "kiblah" (the direction of Mecca). The depth is only 60 to 70 centimeters. It is covered with flat stones cemented with wet clay. They place markers ("chouahed" in Arabic, "ihalissen" ⵉⵀⴰⵍⵉⵙⵙⴻⵏ in Tamashek), that is, stones set on end: one at the head, one at the feet if it is a man; one at the head, two at the feet if it is a woman, parallel or perpendicular to the direction of the grave according to whether it is a man or a woman.

Then a circle of stones is made around the grave, with an opening for entry and exit, and to the east, opposite the door, is the place of prayer, according to the following plan. a

The expression of condolence used is the following: "iha ner' irah yalla ierhak, " which corresponds to the Arabic وقاية [576]
الله يخلف علينا and which means, "May God repay the loss which you and we have suffered. "

The visitor goes around the grave saying, "kel irkhem yalla (May God grant you mercy!), " says his prayer and leaves. [788]

A funeral feast is given for the tolbas and the poor. /24/

a [see A20 --- ANALYST]
1

The laws of hospitality, "amedjarou," are observed as 574 among all Moslems. The guest, "amadjar," is always well received.

## Chapter XVI

## Hygiene. Diseases

133
516

Dautheville

Dr. Dautheville in the Abezzou Wadi (White Tifedest)

We know that the Tuareg have a horror of water. They do 515 not wash themselves on the pretext that this would make them sick, but it is essentially because they are very sensitive to [151] cold. To say their prayers, they do not indulge in the pre- [782 scribed ablutions, even when they are at home and have water 788] at their disposal. They are content with "talmoum" (an imitation of washing with sand), which they call "ettamine." The amenokal Moussa ag /31/ Amastane is the only Tuareg whom I have seen making his ablutions with water.

This is also doubtless due to the fact that the Tuareg like 241 to keep the tint of indigo, "sedjeni" ⵙⴹⵊⵉ, on their 302 skins, the result of wearing "chegga," or blue cotton, which 386 runs a great deal and of which they make their clothes. They 515

I was told in the Ahaggar that youths may not say their 561
prayers in the presence of women for, in the course of genu- 562
flections and prostrations, they have to show their posteriors, 782
which is very "shocking"! On the other hand, old men can 834
pray before women without being indecent.

Many, besides, in order to say their prayers place them- 782
selves behind the imam (either an Arabian taleb or a Tuareg 788
who knows a little Arabic), and they make their genuflections, 793
saying, "Allahou akber" (God is the greatest) every time they
hear it said by the imam. That is all of their prayer.

There were many who told me that they did not observe 785
the fast of Ramadan, among others Badjloud, the amr'ar of 771
the Kel Ahnet. On the other hand, the Issoqqamaren
(fractions who have long been in contact with the Arabs and
still are) are more religious, and they all observe the fast.

Among the Ahaggar Tuareg there are, nevertheless, some 792
truly religious men, but they are known and pointed out and
pass for marabouts, for example, Moussa ag Amastane, Beketa
ag Ibrahim, and the Oulad El Mir'da and Oulad Mokhammed ag
Sadik.

Although the Tuareg is not religious, he nevertheless
has great respect for the marabouts whom he naively admires,
always on condition that these marabouts do not interfere with
him. Thus the marabout Beketa ag Ibrahim stated that the
dates coming from the Tidikelt, recently occupied by the
French, were forbidden by the religion. He changed his mind
later. But now, every time that he goes to ask an amr'id for
dates, the latter comments that they came from the Tidikelt
and are therefore forbidden by the religion, and Beketa answers,
"No. All that is over now, " and accepts the dates.

Religious orders are quite widespread, especially among
the Issoqqamaren. Going by caravan to the Tidikelt or the
Touat, the Ahaggar have joined the order of the Tijaniyyah,
which numbers most of its adherents among them, and that
of the Qādiriyyah. Others (usually they all are those who have

made the pilgrimage /59/ to Mecca), have joined the order 792
of the Senusi /Sanusiyyah. Ed./ on their way to Djer'boub.

But I doubt whether this affiliation is really sincere. All the members do not want to wear their beads around their necks, but keep them in their pockets or in their luggage while they are traveling. They say that if they wear them openly they would be accused of wanting to seduce women! Finally, they are not allowed to wear them any time that they do a reprehensible deed, that they have relations, even with their lawful wives, etc.

On the other hand, having remained naive and super- 789
stitious, they all believe in the efficacy of amulets, "tira," with which they are covered. There are even some who hang them on the necks of their meharis.

At each new moon the Tuareg says his prayer. His hands 782
open like a book, he looks at the evening star and expresses 788
the wish that he may be alive at the next moon.

At the feast of Mouloud (birth of the Prophet), they hold out their hands, saying, "Asarouf" (pardon), in order to have their sins forgiven. But if there is no taleb in the tribe to remind them of the exact date, they forget and do not think of it.

## Chapter VIII

### Superstitions. Beliefs

The Tuareg are very superstitious. Everywhere they see 771
genii and demons, in the mountains, in the trees, in water- 776
skins, etc.

Thus, in camp they do not want to go to bed beside water-skins or ashes, because of the genii, "alhinen" /ⵍⵃⵉⵏⴻⵏ/, /60/ or ghosts, "kel esouf" ⵉⵅⵓⵍ ⵏ ⵜⵙⵓⴼ (people of the void), who live there.